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# A Refugee Scholar from Nazi Germany: Emmy Noether and Bryn Mawr College

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**A Refugee Scholar from Nazi Germany:  
Mathematician Emmy Noether at Bryn Mawr College**

Qinna Shen

It is everywhere incumbent upon university faculties . . . to maintain their historic duty of welcoming scholars, irrespective of race, religion and political opinion, into academic society, of protecting them in the interest of learning and human understanding, and of conserving for the world the ability and scholarship that might otherwise disappear.

—Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars

On April 7, 1933, two months after Hitler came to power, the new Civil Service Law barred non-Aryan Germans, including university professors and researchers of Jewish descent, from working in the public sector.<sup>1</sup> The Institute of International Education, which was founded in New York City in 1919, quickly responded by establishing the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars in June 1933. The committee's mission was to place the suddenly unemployed and imperiled academics in institutions outside of Germany. At the time, the otherwise restrictive U.S. immigration laws made an exception for professors and ministers who had been invited to work at American institutions. It was this provision that enabled the Emergency Committee to help over three hundred refugee scholars. But not all American

institutions were receptive to calls from the Emergency Committee. According to Laurel Leff, a professor of journalism at Northeastern University who has been leading a project called “Rediscovering the Refugee Scholars,” some colleges, such as Hamilton College, explicitly told the Emergency Committee they wanted an Aryan applicant. Dartmouth College offered to take someone of Jewish heritage, but stipulated that the candidate “shouldn’t seem too Jewish.”<sup>2</sup> It was clear that “anti-German sentiment and anti-Semitism reigned on many campuses.”<sup>3</sup> Bryn Mawr College, however, along with many other American and foreign institutions, welcomed refugee scholars into its midst. Marion Edwards Park, who served as president of Bryn Mawr from 1922 to 1942 and steered it through the Great Depression, the rise of fascism in Europe, and the beginning of the Second World War, was an early member of the Emergency Committee. Under her extraordinary and judicious leadership, the small women’s college hosted a number of refugee scholars, beginning with the acclaimed mathematician Emmy Noether (1882–1935).

This article explores Bryn Mawr College’s involvement with the Emergency Committee by examining the case of its most prominent guest, Emmy Noether. It pieces together discoveries from archives and existing publications to reconstruct a coherent story of the last two years of her life, which she spent at Bryn Mawr after she was dismissed from the University of Göttingen. Whereas Noether’s earlier life and work in Erlangen and Göttingen is well documented, many of the materials concerning her emigration and time at Bryn Mawr have not yet been collected and organized. This essay aims to undertake that task and to make the story of Noether, still recognized as the greatest woman in her field, known beyond the circle of mathematicians and physicists. It answers the question of how and why a world-class mathematician and physicist declined an opportunity to take refuge at the University of Oxford and accepted a position at a

less-known school. It will give readers a glimpse into what our small women's college did in those critical years to rescue and sustain purged scholars. Many more stories such as this one are archived in institutions in America and other countries and await similar endeavors to unearth the important history of forced emigration of academics during the Holocaust.

### **The Mission of the Emergency Committee**

The Great Depression, whose global effects enabled the rise of fascism in Germany and thus helped to set the stage for the exodus of Jewish scholars, also complicated the task of the Emergency Committee that was formed to rescue them. From the outset, the committee made clear that due to the failing economy, American universities “are suffering from severe deprivation” and “teachers have been dropped from the rolls,” therefore “the universities must not be called upon for financial assistance for the benefit of foreign scholars.”<sup>4</sup> The Emergency Committee's approach was to match an émigré scholar with an American university that was willing to provide the scholar with a position. Then, using funds provided by the Emergency Committee, the Rockefeller Foundation, and other philanthropic institutions, the university would pay the new faculty member's salary.

The committee operated according to three guiding principles. The first was to accept applications only from academic institutions willing to serve as hosts, and not from refugee scholars themselves. The committee compiled lists of displaced scholars for colleges to review, allowing them to choose candidates according to the school's needs and ability to accommodate refugees. The second guiding principle was to restrict its offers of assistance to established scholars who had already been employed by a German or European institution, so as to preempt competition between young American and foreign scholars; scholars under thirty-five years old

were ineligible except in cases of exceptional qualification. On the other hand, scholars over fifty-eight years old were excluded because they were believed to be less capable of adjusting to a new country. The third guiding principle was to give preference to institutions that might be able to absorb the refugee scholars into their faculty after a trial period of a year or two. Thus the committee hoped the temporary positions would eventually become permanent.<sup>5</sup>

In the early years, the committee was able to offer institutions annual grants of \$2,000 for two years; the Rockefeller Foundation matched the committee's grant, and in some cases gave even more. However, as an increasing number of European countries fell to the Nazis and more scholars were dismissed, the committee had to reduce the amount to around \$1,000.<sup>6</sup> In 1938, the committee changed its name to reflect the changing demographic reality, becoming the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars.<sup>7</sup>

On July 3, 1933, the head of the Emergency Committee, Edward R. Murrow, wrote to inform President Park that the committee had granted the sum of \$2,000 for the support of a German scholar to be chosen by Bryn Mawr. He suggested that Bryn Mawr seek additional financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation (Fig. 1). The college elected to invite Emmy Noether, and one month later the Rockefeller Foundation confirmed that it "would contribute \$2,000 toward the salary of Dr. Noether during the academic year 1933–1934 at Bryn Mawr College. . . . This grant, of course, applies only to Dr. Noether, and will lapse if she cannot accept." The reasoning behind the decision by the small liberal arts college to offer refuge to a world-class research mathematician is not immediately clear. Why did Bryn Mawr choose Noether, and why did Noether accept the school's offer?

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July 3, 1933

President Marion Park  
Bryn Mawr College  
Pennsylvania

My dear President Park:

Professor Duggan has instructed me to inform you of recent action taken by the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, of which he is Secretary.

The Emergency Committee has granted the sum of \$2,000 to Bryn Mawr for the support of a German scholar to be chosen by you. The grant is made on the assumption that you will desire to offer the German scholar selected a salary of approximately \$4,000 a year. The balance necessary to complete this amount may be raised from any available source, but the Committee suggests that you communicate immediately with the Rockefeller Foundation, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y., informing them of the grant made by the Emergency Committee and formally requesting a sum sufficient to meet the balance.

According to the procedure adopted by the Emergency Committee, invitations are to be issued directly by the institution. Will you therefore please indicate to us at an early date the name of the German scholar to whom you are extending an invitation. In the event that your first choice is for any reason unable to accept, the Committee will consider making the above-mentioned grant of \$2,000 for a professor chosen by you to replace him.

The funds at present available permit us now to grant assistance for one professor only for a period of one year. It is hoped that additional funds will be forthcoming and if such is the case applications for a renewal of this grant for a period of one year more will be considered. It is hoped also that the additional funds expected will allow of other professors being invited.


President Marion Park

- 2 -

July 3, 1933

The offices of the Emergency Committee are at your disposal if you desire assistance in any way in completing arrangements with the professor chosen by you.

Sincerely yours,

  
E. H. Murrow  
For Stephen Duggan

ERM:LTS

Fig. 1. The Emergency Committee's grant letter to Bryn Mawr College (Courtesy of Bryn Mawr College Special Collections).

## From Germany to the United States

Emmy Noether was fifty-one years old when her academic career in Germany was cut short by the anti-Semitic Civil Service Law. She had been born into a Jewish family on March 23, 1882 in Erlangen, Germany.<sup>8</sup> Her father, Max Noether, was a professor of mathematics at the University of Erlangen. After completing her secondary education, instead of pursuing a career teaching French and English she decided to attend university. This was an unusual choice, since Germany did not yet allow women to matriculate at universities; they were only allowed to audit courses with permission from male professors. But Noether persevered. She was able to audit classes for the winter semester of 1903/04 at the University of Göttingen, a hub of mathematical research, but she had to return home due to illness and kept studying mathematics at Erlangen. In December 1907, she defended her doctoral thesis and graduated *summa cum laude* from Erlangen, becoming the first woman to receive a Ph.D. in Germany.<sup>9</sup>

Between 1908 and 1915, Noether worked without compensation at the Mathematical Institute in Erlangen. Her groundbreaking research impressed Felix Klein and David Hilbert at Göttingen, who then invited her to join the Göttingen faculty in 1915. As a woman, however, she was ineligible to write a Habilitation thesis, the next stage on the academic career path, and thus was barred from becoming a Privatdozent who could lecture at the university level. The mathematics faculty argued against their conservative colleagues in philology and history on Noether's behalf. According to a repeatedly told story, the conservatives asked Hilbert, "How can we permit a woman to become a Privatdozent? Having become a Privatdozent, she can then become a professor and a member of the University Senate. Is it possible that a woman enter the Senate?" Or "What will our soldiers think when they return to the University and find that they



are expected to learn at the feet of a woman?” Hilbert answered bluntly, “I do not see that the sex of the candidate is an argument against her admission as a Privatdozent. After all, the University Senate is not a bathhouse.”<sup>10</sup> Hilbert did not, however, succeed in persuading the administration to allow Noether’s Habilitation. As an ad hoc solution, he asked her to be his nominal assistant and to lecture in his stead. Finally in 1919 Noether was granted Habilitation, becoming the first female professor in Germany.<sup>11</sup> As a Privatdozent, she could lecture in her own right, but this academic title did not qualify her for a salary from the state. Her laborious work for the academic journal *Mathematische Annalen* was never explicitly recognized either. Despite all the restrictions enforced on her, Noether gained a growing reputation in her field as a leading expert in modern algebra.

On April 6, 1922, the Prussian minister of science, art and public education granted Noether the honorary title of *nicht beamteter ausserordentlicher Professor* (associate professor without tenure). As a result of efforts made by Richard Courant, then director of the Göttingen Mathematical Institute, in 1923 she received a *Lehrauftrag für Algebra* (lectureship for Algebra) that paid a small salary (200–400 marks per month) but required annual renewal.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, following this official university appointment she could finally lecture, give doctoral exams, and oversee dissertations. She developed a large following, the so-called “Noether boys” who came from many different countries, including China and Japan, to study with her.

During her time at Göttingen, Noether collaborated closely with Hermann Weyl and became acquainted with many first-rate mathematicians, including Solomon Lefschetz from Princeton, who was in Göttingen in the summer of 1931, and Oswald Veblen from the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS), who was in Germany in 1932. These German and American colleagues were later instrumental in helping Noether go to Bryn Mawr and the IAS.

On April 13, 1933, Emmy Noether was among the very first academics to be dismissed, together with Max Born, Richard Courant, and three other Jewish professors.<sup>13</sup> Many colleagues and eminent mathematicians wrote petition letters on behalf of Noether, including Helmut Hasse, Bartel Leendert van der Waerden, and Hermann Weyl.<sup>14</sup> The chief administrator (*Kurator*) of Göttingen, J. T. Valentiner, however, found himself unable to endorse her. On August 7, 1933, he wrote to the minister of science, art and public education in Berlin that Noether's sympathy for Marxist worldviews was so strong that she could not be regarded as a wholehearted supporter of the German state.<sup>15</sup> Weyl later reminisced in his obituary of Noether, "I suppose there could hardly have been in any other case such a pile of enthusiastic testimonials filed with the Ministerium as was sent in on her behalf. At that time we really fought; there was still hope left that the worst could be warded off. It was in vain."<sup>16</sup> Weyl, who succeeded Courant as director of the Göttingen Mathematical Institute, then immediately got in touch with Princeton University to arrange a visiting lectureship for Noether. He himself went on a lecture tour in the US in October 1933 and stayed in Princeton. Professor Oswald Veblen and the founding director of IAS, Professor Abraham Flexner, welcomed Weyl and Albert Einstein to Princeton. The four dedicated themselves to finding and creating positions for their colleagues, especially those from Nazi Germany. Apparently the negotiations with Princeton regarding Noether fell through; as she later said, Princeton was at that time a "men's university, which admits nothing female" („Männer“-Universität, die nichts Weibliches zulässt).<sup>17</sup> However, a small women's college, conveniently located just a few hours by train from Princeton, shortly emerged as an attractive alternative to the "men's university."

Professor Salomon Lefschetz from Princeton, who knew Noether personally from his time in Göttingen, approached Anna Pell Wheeler (1883–1966), the chair of the mathematics

department at Bryn Mawr, and suggested that the college take advantage of the Emergency Committee's offer to President Park to sponsor a refugee scholar by inviting Noether for the coming academic year.<sup>18</sup> Bryn Mawr at that time was also the only women's college with a doctoral program in mathematics. On August 4, 1933, through the generosity of the Emergency Committee and the Rockefeller Foundation, the college was able to offer Noether a salary of \$4,000 (over \$76,000 today) to "carry on research work and consultation with advanced students" at Bryn Mawr during 1933/34 (Fig. 2).

August 4th, 1933

My dear Dr. Noether,

The Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars and the Rockefeller Institute have together made a grant of \$4000. to Bryn Mawr College for the stipend during the coming year of a German scholar to be chosen by the college. I very much hope that you will do Bryn Mawr College the honor of accepting a position for 1933-34 under the terms of this award.

The Department of Mathematics is most desirous that this invitation be extended to you and that you be asked to spend the year as a member of the department at Bryn Mawr, carrying on research work and consultation with advanced students. The college is a small college for women situated just outside of Philadelphia and about two and a half hours journey from New York City. The reputation of its Mathematics Department especially through the work of Professor Charlotte Angas Scott and Professor Anna Pell Wheeler brings good students to study here. The mathematical library contains the most important mathematical journals, and I trust the college can arrange that you work in comfortable and happy conditions.

The work of the year opens on October 1st and closes on June 6th. In the event of your acceptance a part of the stipend for the year can be sent you this summer to cover your travelling expenses to America and I will send you a signed statement of your appointment at the college which will be necessary to allow your admission to this country.

I am sending you a catalogue of the college and asking Professor Wheeler to write you more fully than I can do about the department and your own work.

I should feel that a great honor was done to Bryn Mawr College and to learning in America if you are willing to accept this invitation.

Please believe me,

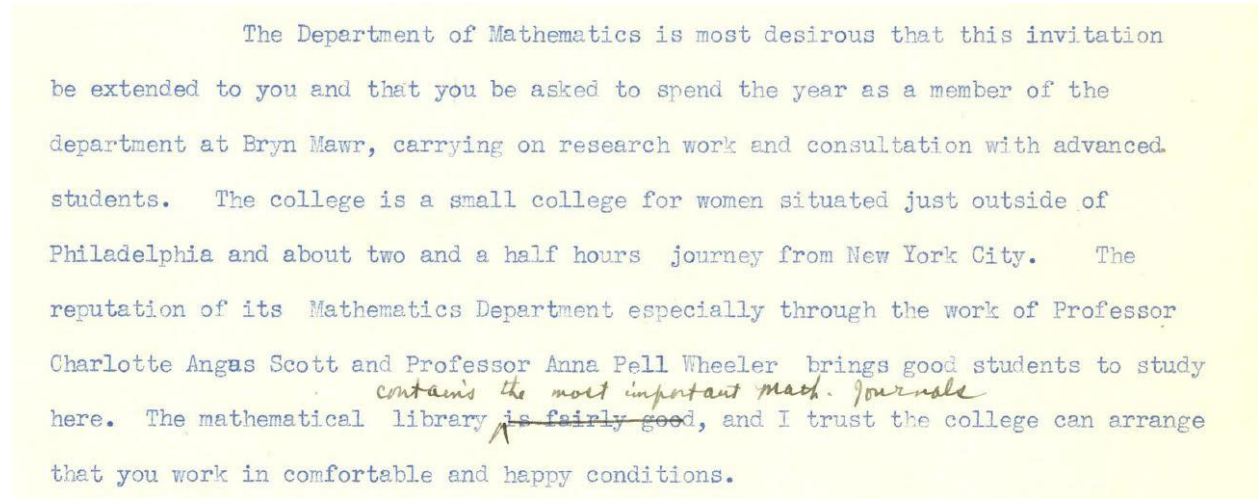
Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) MARTON EDWARDS PARK

Dr. Emmy Noether  
Mathematisches Institut  
University of Göttingen  
Göttingen, Germany

Fig. 2. Letter from President Marion Park offering Emmy Noether a one-year position at Bryn Mawr (Courtesy of Bryn Mawr College Special Collections).

The draft of President Park's letter inviting Noether to Bryn Mawr contains a minor but interesting edit. A statement that "The mathematical library is fairly good" was edited to read, "The mathematical library contains the most important mathematical journals" (Fig. 3). The change suggests that President Park recognized that Bryn Mawr might not be the first choice of an academic of Noether's stature and sought to make the college more appealing. As M. B. W. Tent writes, "'Catching' Professor Emmy Noether was a real coup for this small but respected college."<sup>19</sup> Indeed, Noether weighed other options both before and after receiving the offer from Bryn Mawr.



The Department of Mathematics is most desirous that this invitation be extended to you and that you be asked to spend the year as a member of the department at Bryn Mawr, carrying on research work and consultation with advanced students. The college is a small college for women situated just outside of Philadelphia and about two and a half hours journey from New York City. The reputation of its Mathematics Department especially through the work of Professor Charlotte Angas Scott and Professor Anna Pell Wheeler brings good students to study here. The mathematical library *contains the most important math. journals* ~~is fairly good~~, and I trust the college can arrange that you work in comfortable and happy conditions.

Fig. 3. Draft of President Park's invitation to Noether (Courtesy of Bryn Mawr College Special Collections).

After being stripped of her hard-won lectureship, Noether initially hoped to find a position in Moscow through her friend and colleague P. S. Alexandrov. Alexandrov, president of the Moscow Mathematical Society, later recounted how he tried to assist her:

After her exile from Germany, she seriously considered finally settling in Moscow, and I had a correspondence with her on this question. She clearly understood that nowhere else were there such possibilities of creating a brilliant new mathematical school to replace the one that was taken from her in Göttingen. And I had already been negotiating with Narkompros about appointing her to a chair in algebra at Moscow University. But, as it happens, Narkompros delayed in making the decision and did not give me a final answer. Meanwhile time was passing, and Emmy Noether, deprived even of the modest salary which she had had in Göttingen, could not wait, and had to accept the invitation from the women's college in the American town of Bryn Mawr.<sup>20</sup>

As Tent points out, Noether “had never even heard of Bryn Mawr College until July of that year,”<sup>21</sup> and at one point she unflatteringly called it a “Weiber-College,” a derogatory version of the usual term for a women's college (Frauen-College).<sup>22</sup> This is not surprising, since she could be blunt and abrasive at times, creating unpleasant moments and offending people around her; but people who knew her well attested to her “motherly unselfishness” and “warm-heartedness beneath the rugged surface.”<sup>23</sup> In retrospect, it was good that Emmy Noether did not go to the Soviet Union, where she might have met with the same fate as her brother. Fritz Noether, also an established mathematician, emigrated to the University of Tomsk in Siberia, U.S.S.R, with his

family. After Hitler destroyed the pact with Stalin, he was, with fatal irony, murdered by Soviet secret police as a Nazi spy.

But Moscow was not Noether's only other option. She was offered a one-term position at the Somerville College in the University of Oxford, where she would undoubtedly have access to a full mathematical library. Writing to President Park on August 18, 1933, from Göttingen, Noether asked whether the appointment could be postponed for a year.<sup>24</sup>

My dear Dr. Park,

I would like to thank you and the College, and above all the Department of Mathematics, many times for the surprising offer of a stipendium. I was very pleased, and I accept it with pleasure.

I must, however, request a year's postponement, until the academic year 1934–35. But I hope and assume that this will not create any great difficulties. I have already accepted an invitation for this winter, for the Christmas-Easter term, to give lectures at Somerville College, Oxford, which will also be accessible to mathematicians of the other Colleges. By the end of these lectures the academic year will almost be over.

It is to me personally a very pleasant feeling to be able to make my plans two years in advance; I certainly hope that things will turn out well.

Your very devoted

Emmy Noether

I read the catalog with interest.

Noether wrote to Park in her native German, and indeed no one at Bryn Mawr knew yet whether her English skills would allow her to interact with students in the mathematics department. The fact that she would be lecturing at Oxford—presumably in English—might have given Park some reassurance.

Park did not reply immediately, but Noether, unaware of the conditions set by the Emergency Committee, assumed that she would be able to delay her trip to America. A few weeks later, on September 7, 1933, she wrote to the then director of the Mathematical Institute in Göttingen, Helmut Hasse, that for the winter term, she hoped to be in Oxford and believed that postponing the invitation from Bryn Mawr by one year should not be a problem.<sup>25</sup> On September 13, she described her options in a letter to her close colleague, Richard Brauer.

As for myself, I have been invited to lecture in Oxford for one term, I have chosen the one between Christmas and Easter. Subsequently, I was also offered a research professorship in Bryn-Mawr for 1933/34; I have asked to have it postponed for 1934/35 as I have already accepted the Oxford offer. I have no answer yet, but I think it should be alright. . . . Bryn Mawr is a women's college, but Mitchell [Howard Mitchell, Professor of Mathematics at Penn] and others are there as professors; besides, Veblen has written to me that it is so close to Princeton that they hope I will come over frequently. If through my postponement some funds became available, it could be perhaps somewhere else! By the way, I will live in a women's college in Oxford as well, but I shall lecture to the whole university, which is composed of the different colleges.<sup>26</sup>

At this point, Noether was still not eager to accept Bryn Mawr's offer and was in fact entertaining the hope that she might end up receiving a position "somewhere else."

When Helen Darbyshire, the principal of Somerville College, learned that Noether was negotiating with Bryn Mawr, she discouraged her from accepting a position at the college. Darbyshire cited her own unsatisfactory experience as a visiting professor at Wellesley College, and she painted a rosy picture of Noether lecturing at Cambridge in the last term of the year. However, as of September 25, 1933, Darbyshire could not guarantee funding for Noether.<sup>27</sup> It was not until the day before Bryn Mawr's fall semester began that Noether made her decision.

In retrospect, Noether's hesitation was certainly understandable; as Tent notes in her biography of Noether, "a primarily undergraduate college would certainly not have been her first choice."<sup>28</sup> Noether may also have felt an obligation toward Oxford since she had already agreed to lecture there. It is unclear whether Noether received a message from Park stating that the offer could not be deferred before she accepted it. But she must have realized that from a practical point of view Bryn Mawr was the more secure option, given the promise of a full year of financial support with the possibility of renewal. And the head of Bryn Mawr's mathematics department, Anna Pell Wheeler, had studied at Göttingen under Hilbert and Hermann Minkowski in 1906–1907 before acquiring her Ph.D. in 1910 from the University of Chicago. Noether could communicate with Wheeler in German, and visits to the IAS would provide Noether with the collegiality she had enjoyed in Göttingen and had expected to find at Oxford.

### **Emmy Noether at Bryn Mawr**

At the opening of the academic year 1933–1934 on October 3, 1933, President Park announced Noether's arrival in her convocation address:



After a rapid fire of cables, I heard yesterday that we are to have a most distinguished foreign visitor . . . in the faculty for the year, Dr. Emmy Noether, a member of the mathematical faculty of the University of Göttingen. Dr. Noether is the most eminent woman in mathematics in Europe and has had more students at Göttingen than anyone else in the department. With other members of the faculty, Dr. Noether was asked to resign from the University in the spring. To our great satisfaction the Institute of International Education and the Rockefeller Foundation have united in giving to the college a generous grant which makes it possible for the Department of Mathematics to invite her here for two years. Her general field is Algebra and the Theory of Numbers. Dr. Noether does not, I understand, speak English well enough to conduct a seminar at once but she will be available for consultation by the graduate students and later I trust can herself give a course. I need not say that I am delighted Bryn Mawr College is one of many American institutions to welcome the scholars whose own country has rejected them. For the time only we must believe, Germany has set aside a great tradition of reverence for the scholar and for learning. I am glad also that the college can entertain so distinguished a woman and that the students in mathematics can profit by her brilliant teaching.

In the original draft of her convocation speech, Park noted that the Department of Mathematics had invited Noether “for one year certainly – I hope for a second as well.” This phrase was penciled over and changed to “for two years” (Fig. 4). Since Noether did not agree to come until the day before the convocation, a second year of funding for Noether must have been secured

shortly before Park delivered the speech. It is also to be noted that Park skipped over the fact that Noether was Jewish and did not refer to the Emergency Committee per se.

October 3rd, 1933

Opening of College

I am glad to see you here to-day - students who are returning and students newly come, graduates and undergraduates, wardens, professors, deans; and to welcome you to Bryn Mawr at the beginning of its 48th year. Those of us who came early were ready to hear the ejaculations of the returning college and the trucks clattering up with the luggage. The swimming moonlight of last evening, the summer green of the campus, the red dogwoods and the thorn tree near the library - proof that this is after all October - they really demand an audience. Joe Graham said to me last week, "Certain, it's like a graveyard with them gone" - and he is really right -

The year begins well, bright weather, a full college.

To the eye of the layman at least the state of the world and of America looks no less confused and dark than in June. Yet we are all aware of an indefinable and still inexplicable feeling of slowly coming confidence, like the faint lightening of the eastern sky on one of these last misty September mornings, - herald - who knows? - of later clearing. This feeling, if it can be called by so definite a name, is reflected in our college numbers. Individuals and families as the summer went on ventured to make plans for their daughters before which spring had found them hesitant. The college <sup>begins</sup> ~~opens~~ this morning with Wyndham open again, with three hundred and eighty-six undergraduate students and an entering class of 124, one of the largest in the history of the college. The graduate school, always slow to register because many of its number are teachers in the not yet opened schools of the neighborhood or even erudite mothers, the Main Line families, has at the moment 105 registrations. Among the ~~graduate students~~ are first and foremost the 23 resident fellows of the college and 33 scholars whose names and academic pedigree were announced last May Day and who ~~have~~ now come in flesh and blood to begin their ~~hard~~ demanding work. The college welcomes back especially Esther Metzenthin who returns from her year at the University of Berlin as Ottendorfer Fellow, Virginia Grace, the holder of the Workman Fellowship in 1930-31, and Agnes Lake returning from two years at Rome, holder of the Fellowship at the American School. Still numbered among graduate students of Bryn Mawr though far from the sound of Tylor bell, are Ann Hoskin, the Workman Fellow of this year who is on her way to Greece via the continental museums, Margaret Hastings, the Garrett Fellow of the year, at work in the Public Record Office in London like many Bryn Mawr students of his tory before her, and Irmgard Wirth Tylor, the Ottendorfer Fellow whose first letter from the University of Berlin has just reached me. The Bryn Mawr European Fellow of 1930, Margaret Shaughnessy, after two years' work at Radcliffe, spends this winter studying economics at the University of London, and Harriet Moore, European Fellow of 1932, after a year in the office of the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York and a ~~busy~~ summer preparing for and acting as secretary of the Institute's conference in Banff, goes to London in the middle of the winter. The graduate school has this year only one of its usual five foreign scholars. Almost fortunately for us, Jeanne Laumain of who was named scholar for last year had to postpone her coming to America and arrives now when we should otherwise be entirely without the visitors always so interesting and so profitable to our own students. I trust that in another year it may be possible to re-establish our scholarships for European students and renew these pleasant invitations.

After a rapid fire of ~~letters and~~ cables, (however,) I heard yesterday that we are to have a most distinguished foreign visitor in the



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in the department

has had more students

faculty for the year, Dr. Emmy Noether, a member of the mathematical faculty of the University of Göttingen. Dr. Noether is the most eminent woman in mathematics in Europe and the best liked at Göttingen with more students than anyone else. (Her general field is Algebra and the Theory of Numbers.) With other members of the faculty, Dr. Noether was asked to resign from the University in the spring. To our great satisfaction the Institute of International Education and the Rockefeller Foundation have united ~~XX~~ in giving to the college a generous grant which makes it possible for the Department of Mathematics to invite her here for ~~one~~ <sup>two</sup> years ~~certainly~~ - I hope for a second as well. Dr. Noether does not, I understand, speak English well enough to conduct a seminary at once but she will be available for consultation by the graduate students and later I trust can herself give a course. I need not say that I am delighted Bryn Mawr College can join with other American institutions in welcoming the scholars whose own country has rejected them. ~~For the time only~~ <sup>Germany</sup> we must believe ~~has~~ <sup>has</sup> set aside a great tradition of reverence for the scholar and for learning. I am glad also that the college can entertain so distinguished a woman and that the students in mathematics can profit by her brilliant teaching. to welcome

is one of many

Of our own faculty, Professor Henry Cadbury returns from a sabbatical year divided between England and Palestine to his work at Bryn Mawr. As I announced last year Professor Cadbury accepted a call to become Hollins professor of Divinity at Harvard, to take effect a year from now. I am proud that for eight years his name and fame have shed lustre on us and grateful to him for proposing to return for a year before he goes to his Cambridge work. Professor Agnes Rogers who has been in England and Scotland on sabbatical leave is unfortunately unwell and unable to return to Bryn Mawr for the first semester. Dr. Lelah Crabbs who was lecturer in education last year has - at I fear a good deal of inconvenience to herself - consented to return and to carry Miss Rogers' courses for a semester longer so that the continuity of work in the department may be unbroken. I hope that Miss Rogers herself may be able to resume her courses, undergraduate and graduate, in February. I spoke last year to the students of the new appointments for this winter - Dr. Ernst Diez, a returned wanderer, Associate Professor of History of Art, Dr. Clara Marburg Kirk as Associate Professor of English Composition, Dr. Donald MacKinnon as Associate in Psychology, Dr. Herbert A. Miller as Lecturer in Social Economy, Dr. Richard Bernheimer as Lecturer in History of Art, and Dr. Florence Whyte as Instructor in Spanish. Mrs. Hortense Flexner King will teach this year, in addition to her course in modern poetry, a division of freshman English.

Freshman! The very word is like a knell and calls me back to the class which has passed in review before me since Wednesday noon. Each class as it appears and saunters through my office on its way to business-like appointments with Dean Manning, Dr. Wagner, and Mr. Willoughby seems to me beautiful, intelligent and virtuous. In the case of this one ~~class~~ - partly perhaps because it took more time to make its impression - my ordinary feeling is surpassed and becomes extraordinary. When I report to you the freshman statistics sometime within the next ten days I shall be ready to give you a reason for the faith that is in me. I can however drop two remarks about them at once - that the class has in it for the first time the granddaughter of a Bryn Mawr Graduate, Anne Taylor of the Class of 1889, and that one member of the class had an examination

Fig. 4. Draft of President Park's Convocation Speech in October 1933 (Courtesy of Bryn Mawr College Special Collections).

Emmy Noether was expected to arrive on November 3 in New York, where a graduate of Bryn Mawr would meet her. On October 27, however, Noether cabled that her visa had been delayed. Finally, on November 7, President Park informed a reporter for the *Philadelphia Record* that “Dr. Emmy Noether has just arrived from Germany on the Bremen after a voyage which she greatly enjoyed.” In this letter, President Park, apparently at Noether’s request, cautioned the reporter not to ask Noether too much about Germany: “[she] cannot speak of German conditions during her American residence. She has a brother and many friends in Germany and she wishes herself to return for a summer. It is clear that discreet silence on her part is necessary if she is to feel at ease about her family and insure her own return.” Apparently Noether feared that reprisals might be taken against her family members, friends, and colleagues who were still in Germany. Upon her arrival at the college, Park also found out that Noether’s “English proves to be entirely usable.”<sup>29</sup> Later that month, President Park invited distinguished mathematicians from schools in the region (including Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, and Swarthmore) to a lecture to be given by Noether on December 15, which certainly augmented the reputation of the mathematics program at Bryn Mawr.

At Professor Oswald Veblen’s invitation, in February 1934 Noether began to give weekly lectures in Princeton—at the IAS, as she noted emphatically in her March 6, 1934 letter to Hasse, and not at the “men’s university, which admits nothing female.”<sup>30</sup> Noether’s letter also showed how much she had come to enjoy Bryn Mawr and its openly friendly and cordial people. She told Hasse that she was holding a seminar with three “girls” and one lecturer, in which they studied the first volume of B. L. van der Waerden’s *Algebra*. Noether also reported that the college had even established a fellowship and scholarships in her name, and a younger Jewish

mathematician, Olga Taussky, would be coming from Göttingen to Bryn Mawr as Noether scholar.

In summer 1934, Noether went back to Germany to lecture, under the impression that she could continue her work as before. According to Tent,

Most of her experiences that summer, however, convinced Noether that she could not remain in Nazi Germany. Many of her former colleagues shunned her, fearing trouble if they were seen talking, let alone collaborating, with her. She sadly decided to remove her possessions from Göttingen. Up to this point, she had kept her apartment in Göttingen, in the hope that she could return some day. Now she realized that that would not be possible. Noether made arrangements to ship her furniture and books to Bryn Mawr, where she would be able to enjoy her own little piece of Germany.<sup>31</sup>

Gottfried Noether, her school-age nephew who showed great mathematical talent at a young age, told his aunt that he was not allowed to speak in class and that some of the other children taunted him for what they called his “Jewish nose” in front of the whole class; he no longer had any friends and the teacher was siding with the other children, instead of disciplining them.<sup>32</sup> It was not the Germany that Noether remembered.

Noether returned to Bryn Mawr with a heavy heart to begin her second year at the college. When the term opened on October 2, 1934, President Park reintroduced Noether during her convocation speech. She announced the Noether scholars and fellows who were joining Bryn Mawr that semester. In the speech Park also addressed current events, criticizing the Right and the Left, reactionaries and radicals, fascists and communists, Hitler and Stalin. She urged the

college to hold fast to its foundational principles and to its respect for human intelligence and freedom.

A small group of fellows and students formed a circle around Noether, including Dr. Marie Weiss, Dr. Olga Taussky, Dr. Grace Shover, and Ruth Caroline Stauffer. As Tent writes, “In time, Noether developed good relations with a new group of ‘Noether Boys,’ who this time turned out to be very bright young women. Like her students in Göttingen, they rapidly became as devoted to their ‘mother’ as the ‘boys’ in Göttingen had been.”<sup>33</sup> Noether took them to Princeton, to the October meeting of the Mathematical Society in New York, and to the biweekly graduate seminar at the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>34</sup> Later, Grace Quinn (née Shover) fondly recalled that Emmy Noether’s “lectures were delivered in broken English. She often lapsed into her native German when she was bothered by some idea in lecturing.”<sup>35</sup> Almost every close associate would later mention that Noether loved to walk and carried on passionate mathematical discussions while walking.<sup>36</sup>

In fall 1934, Jacob Billikopf, the executive director of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in Philadelphia and the impartial chairman of the Philadelphia Regional Labor Board, started a campaign to secure funds to ensure Noether’s continued residence at Bryn Mawr College after the end of her initial two-year appointment.<sup>37</sup> Since the Emergency Committee did not normally renew funding for refugee scholars, Billikopf sought assistance from other donors. He also solicited letters of support from renowned mathematicians who could best evaluate Noether’s achievements. On December 13, 1934, the chair of the department of mathematics and astronomy at Swarthmore, Arnold Dresden, wrote, “[Miss Noether] has originated and developed to a large extent an entirely new domain in the field of algebra and every contributor to this field depends upon her work.” On December 31, Professor Salomon Lefschetz at Princeton University

wrote, “Were it not for her race, her sex and her liberal political opinion (they are mild) she would have held a first rate professorship in Germany and we would have no occasion to concern ourselves with her.” On January 2, 1935, Norbert Wiener, a professor of mathematics at MIT, wrote, “Miss Noether is a great personality; the greatest woman mathematician who has ever lived; and the greatest woman scientist of any sort now living, and a scholar at least on the plane of Madame Curie.” The chairman of the mathematics department at Harvard, Professor George D. Birkhoff, also wrote on January 5, 1935, “It is not too much to say that, since Sonia Kovalevski, she is the only woman mathematician of high absolute rank.”<sup>38</sup>

In the end, Billikopf was able to inform the Emergency Committee that he could offer between \$750 and \$1,000 toward Noether’s support.<sup>39</sup> On January 8, 1935, Alfred Cohn at the Emergency Committee responded that the Committee would “make a determined effort to continue to supply grants” and asked Billikopf to instruct Bryn Mawr College to request a renewal of the existing grants. On January 16, 1935, the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation in New York provided Bryn Mawr with an additional \$1,000 for Noether. On February 21, 1935, at Billikopf’s prompt, Bryn Mawr’s acting president Helen Taft Manning wrote to Abraham Flexner at IAS to update him on the status of Noether’s salary for next year. She indicated that Bryn Mawr could not provide Noether with a permanent position:

The letter I have received from Mr. Weaver of the Rockefeller Foundation is very discouraging. . . . He asked me whether it was likely that the college could plan to make the appointment a permanent one, by which I take it he meant to ask whether we could put her salary on our regular budget. Unfortunately I had to write him that we had no plan by which this could be done in the immediate future because there was no vacancy in the

Mathematics Department and because, remarkable as are her gifts, there seems every reason to suppose that Dr. Noether would not be able to handle undergraduate work in mathematics. Even the graduate students find her work hard and her standard of what may be expected from them somewhat high. Our only hope therefore would be that some day we might have research professorships at Bryn Mawr, for one of which Miss Noether would certainly be most eligible. After I had given this somewhat negative answer to the question I received another letter from Mr. Weaver saying that in view of my statement it seemed unlikely that the Rockefeller Foundation would renew the grant.<sup>40</sup>

Then on February 28, 1935, in a letter to Flexner, Oswald Veblen lamented Manning's "unfortunate" phrasing in her reply to Weaver, and he suggested that Weaver might change his mind if he knew that efforts were being made to create a fund that would enable Bryn Mawr to hire Miss Noether permanently. Veblen further revealed the IAS professors' efforts:

The actual action agreed upon by the professors of the Institute with regard to a grant is to set aside \$1500 to be used as a grant for Miss Noether in the year 1935–36 in case other means of support should fail . . . moreover, that in saying this we should be conscious of the possibility that this might become a permanent commitment on the part of the Institute. There is no doubt that, apart from the uniqueness of her position as a woman mathematician, she is quite obviously one of the most important scientists who have been displaced by the events in Germany. Therefore even a permanent commitment could be nothing but creditable to the Institute.<sup>41</sup>



Three weeks after Veblen wrote to Flexner, Warren Weaver noted in a diary entry on March 20, 1935, that “There is no hope whatsoever of absorption at Bryn Mawr, but there appears to be a fair chance for absorption at the Princeton Institute, this being an ideal disposition of the case. . . . It is pointless to insist upon absorption in the case of a person who is incapable of being absorbed.” The Rockefeller Foundation, however, was ready to make an exception to its policy on academic refugees “on the grounds of her unusual eminence.”<sup>42</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation continued to support Noether and her appointment was renewed at Bryn Mawr for another two years.

But Noether never finished her original two-year term. On Sunday, April 14, 1935, she died suddenly of circulatory collapse following an operation to remove a large ovarian cyst. She had a normal recovery in the first three days after the operation, but during the early morning of fourth day she suddenly lost consciousness and her temperature rose to 108 degrees. A blood vessel had ruptured in the vital centers in her head.<sup>43</sup> On the following day her physician, Dr. Brooke M. Anspach, wrote to President Park that Noether “was suffering with some cerebral lesion and that the situation was hopeless. . . . The outcome was impossible to avoid. . . . Without doubt the operative procedure hastened it but of course the operation was necessary and if the tumor had not been removed it alone would have been sufficient to have caused her death.”<sup>44</sup>

### **Remembering Emmy Noether**

Emmy Noether’s funeral was held at the home of President Park on Wednesday, April 18.<sup>45</sup> All the members of Bryn Mawr College who had known Noether, her students at Bryn Mawr, and a large number of faculty and students from the mathematics department at Princeton University attended the funeral. Professor Anna Wheeler spoke on behalf of Bryn Mawr College, and Dr.

Olga Taussky spoke on behalf of Noether's foreign students. Hermann Weyl and Richard Brauer also spoke extemporaneously in German on behalf of her German colleagues.

The director of IAS, Abraham Flexner, wrote to President Park on April 25, "Her death has shed a deep gloom over us all, but it ought to make you and Mrs. Wheeler happy to know that a few weeks ago she remarked to Professor Veblen that the last year and a half had been the very happiest in her whole life, for she was appreciated in Bryn Mawr and Princeton as she had never been appreciated in her own country."<sup>46</sup> On April 26, a memorial service was held at Goodhart Hall, where Hermann Weyl, professor of mathematics at the IAS, delivered an address (Fig. 5).<sup>47</sup> Albert Einstein also paid tribute by writing to the *New York Times* (May 5, 1935): "Fräulein Noether was the most significant creative mathematical genius thus far produced since the higher education of women began. In the realm of algebra, in which the most gifted mathematicians have been busy for centuries, she discovered methods which have proved of enormous importance in the development of the present-day younger generation of mathematicians."<sup>48</sup> The urn containing her ashes was interred in the Cloisters at Bryn Mawr (Fig. 6).

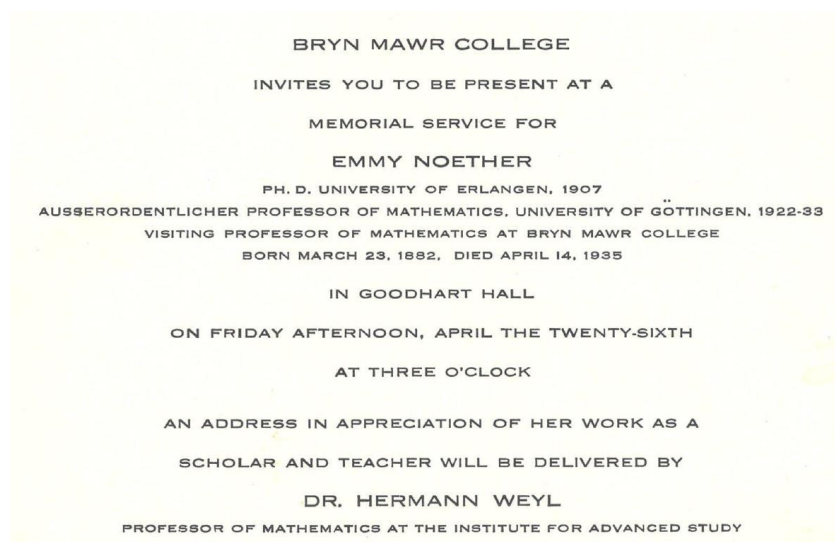


Fig. 5. Invitation to a memorial service for Emmy Noether at Bryn Mawr College (Courtesy of Bryn Mawr College Special Collections)



Fig. 6. Emmy Noether's urn was buried in the Cloisters at Bryn Mawr under an inconspicuous cement slab bearing only her initials.

Noether's death hit Ruth Stauffer, her only doctoral candidate at Bryn Mawr, especially hard. On April 8, 1935, Noether wrote her report on Ruth's dissertation: "This thesis gives some very interesting results in the field of Modern Algebra, and it has shown that Miss Stauffer has a thorough knowledge of the modern theories and that she has a feeling for abstract methods. I consider this thesis is satisfactory as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree."<sup>49</sup> Noether made it known that she would not travel before the end of June so that she would be present to confer the doctorate upon Ruth at commencement. Ruth finished her degree with Richard Brauer, but eventually left the profession.<sup>50</sup> Years later, she shared her recollections of her mentor:

As I remember Miss Noether's methods of thinking and working, they were simply a reflection of her way of life; that is, recognize the unessentials, brush them aside and enter whole heartedly into the present. This was, as you all know, far from a superficial achievement on the part of Miss Noether. Bitterness and jealousy were rejected by her as unessential. There was never any indication of bitterness toward Germany even though Hitler's government denied her the right to teach at Göttingen. Nor was there any sign of jealousy because of her treatment as a woman even in the end when her colleagues from Göttingen went to the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton with possibilities of many promising advanced young students. Her lot, instead, was Bryn Mawr, with a Mathematics Department consisting of four faculty members headed by Mrs. Wheeler and five graduate students who had never been exposed to any abstract algebra. She knew, of course, that there was a possibility of trips to Princeton for lectures and discussions.<sup>51</sup>

Emmy Noether's brother, Fritz Noether, as well as her cousin in Mannheim, Otto Nöther, expressed their gratitude to Bryn Mawr for having become "a second home" (eine zweite Heimat) to Emmy.<sup>52</sup> Fritz Noether wrote on May 23, 1935, to Professor Wheeler:

I know also from other reports that she felt home at Bryn Mawr, and Bryn Mawr had become an absolute substitute for what she had to give up in her *Heimat*. I also see from your report, how well you all know her, her idiosyncrasies, and her main traits—the unbreakable optimism which she evidently held till the last hours. Painful as the thought is to us all that she is no longer here with us, the

greatest satisfaction remains that she herself kept living and working in her ideas until the moment that her thinking stopped, without her becoming aware of it.<sup>53</sup>

Today, in the seminar room of Bryn Mawr's math department, a portrait of Noether hangs alongside those of Charlotte Angas Scott (1858–1931), the college's first mathematician and the founder of the department, and Noether's colleagues Anna Pell Wheeler and Marguerite Lehr (1898–1987) (Fig. 7).<sup>54</sup> Looking back on the mathematical tradition at Bryn Mawr, historian of mathematics William Dunham wrote, "I can say with confidence that no other math department in the U.S. can boast a stronger, more distinguished line-up of women mathematicians."<sup>55</sup>



Fig. 7. Portraits of Charlotte Angas Scott, Anna Pell Wheeler, Emmy Noether, and Marguerite Lehr line the wall of the seminar room of the Bryn Mawr mathematics department.

## **Conclusion: Bryn Mawr as a Haven for Refugees**

Emmy Noether was the star academic Bryn Mawr snagged from Nazi Germany. In addition, Bryn Mawr hosted a number of other refugee scholars, including Dr. Eva Fiesel, an Etruscan scholar; Hertha Kraus, professor of social work and social research; Richard Bernheimer, professor of art history; Dr. Hilda Pollaczek Geiringer, an expert on theoretical statistics; Fritz Karsen, professor of education; and Felix Gilbert, professor of history. In 1941, looking back on Bryn Mawr's roles as a host to displaced academics, President Park wrote, "The college has on the whole had excellent experience with refugee scholars . . . from the point of view of teaching and adaptation to the community."<sup>56</sup>

The archival material concerning Bryn Mawr's cooperation with the Emergency Committee indicates that the college was very invested in assisting displaced scholars from Europe, especially female academics, at a time when academia was not as open to women as it is today. In total, Nazi Germany banned around 12,000 scholars from their profession. The Emergency Committee received close to 6,000 applications. Although only 330 received aid from the committee, many more scholars made it to the US and other safe havens through other means. Out of the eighty women scientists and mathematicians who found refuge in the US identified by researchers at Northeastern University, only four were supported by the committee, including Emmy Noether and Hilda Geiringer, both of whom accepted positions at Bryn Mawr.<sup>57</sup> The college provided a hospitable environment under the great leadership of President Marion Park.

The migration of these scholars represented a massive brain drain for Germany and a great gain for America. Only with the invigoration of these European scholars did Princeton, for example, attain comparable excellence with other major mathematical centers.<sup>58</sup> Germany's loss of these scholars to America attested to the consequence Nazi Germany had to bear due to its

myopic bigotry and racism. When asked by the new Nazi minister of education, Wilhelm Rust, how mathematics at the University of Göttingen was progressing now that the Jews had been cleansed from the faculty, David Hilbert replied bitterly, “Mathematics in Göttingen? There is really none anymore.”<sup>59</sup> Göttingen had forever lost its glory as the “mecca of mathematics of the time.”<sup>60</sup> The displaced scholars went on to make huge contribution to the development of science and academic disciplines in the U.S. Emmy Noether is a paragon of women’s intellectual capacity and academic prowess and she continues to inspire young women at Bryn Mawr and beyond even today.

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## Notes

An earlier version of this essay was presented as part of the panel “Refugee Scholars from Nazi Germany to the Trico” during a Community Day of Learning at Bryn Mawr College on March 20, 2018 which focused on the theme “Being Bryn Mawr: Past, Present, and Future.” I want to thank my student Stephanie Strevey (’20) and Prof. David Cast in Art History for joining me on the panel. I want to especially thank Eric Pumroy, Director of the Department of Special Collections at Bryn Mawr Library, for his generous help with locating and digitalizing archival

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files for this project, and Jane Epstein, Assistant Secretary of Bryn Mawr College, for pointing me to Abraham Flexner's personal connections to Bryn Mawr and her encouraging support for this project.

<sup>1</sup> Siegmund-Schultze.

<sup>2</sup> Boissoneault. See also the Northeastern University team project "Rediscovering the Refugee Scholars."

<sup>3</sup> Intrator.

<sup>4</sup> The Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, Livingston Farrand, Chairman; Fred M. Stein, Treasurer; Stephen Duggan, Secretary." Bryn Mawr Special Collections.

<sup>5</sup> The Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars. Report of June 1, 1941 by Stephen Duggan, Chairman of the Executive Committee. Special Collections, Bryn Mawr College.

<sup>6</sup> The Emergency Committee. Report of June 1, 1941 by Stephen Duggan.

<sup>7</sup> Maas 36.

<sup>8</sup> I draw my brief summary of Noether's biography mostly from books by Dick, Brewer and Smith, and Tent.

<sup>9</sup> Dick 96.

<sup>10</sup> Alexandrov 168. Tent 79–80. P. and Noether 136; Kimberling, "Emmy Noether and Her Influence," 14.

<sup>11</sup> "Emmy Noether's Paradise."

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<sup>12</sup> Dick 47, Weyl 132, Alexandrov 168. Noether told others that she was saving money for her nephew, Gottfried Noether, who later was able to come to the US to study mathematics and become a professor at University of Connecticut at Storrs (Dick 46–48).

<sup>13</sup> Dick 75; Tent 143–146.

<sup>14</sup> “Die Noether—Gutachten,” *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 7–29.

<sup>15</sup> “Der Kurator an den Minister, 7.8.1933,” *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 13.

<sup>16</sup> Weyl 132–133; Lemmermeyer and Roquette 191, n 7.

<sup>17</sup> Lemmermeyer and Roquette 204.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted from Kimberling, “Emmy Noether and Her Influence,” 30. There were additional personal ties between Princeton and Bryn Mawr. Abraham Flexner’s sister, Mary Flexner, attended Bryn Mawr with his financial support. Abraham Flexner’s brother, Simon Flexner, was married to M. Carey Thomas’s sister, Helen. M. Carey Thomas was the first dean and second president of Bryn Mawr College. Simon Flexner was the first director of Rockefeller Institute in New York. See “Abraham Flexner: Life”; “Abraham Flexner”; Digilio.

<sup>19</sup> Tent 148.

<sup>20</sup> Alexandrov 176.

<sup>21</sup> Tent 145.

<sup>22</sup> Dick 56.

<sup>23</sup> Dick 41, 70–71; Tent 148–151.

<sup>24</sup> The archival file contains the original letter in German along with the English translation reproduced here.

<sup>25</sup> Lemmermeyer and Roquette 199.

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- <sup>26</sup> The archival file contains the original letter in German along with the English translation reproduced here.
- <sup>27</sup> Kimberling, “Emmy Noether and Her Influence,” 30–31.
- <sup>28</sup> Tent 146–147.
- <sup>29</sup> Letter to Dr. Weaver at the Rockefeller Foundation on November 28, 1933. Bryn Mawr Special Collections.
- <sup>30</sup> Lemmermeyer and Roquette 204.
- <sup>31</sup> Tent 152–153.
- <sup>32</sup> Tent 153
- <sup>33</sup> Tent 147
- <sup>34</sup> Quinn, McKee, Lehr, and Taussky 140.
- <sup>35</sup> Kimberling, “Emmy Noether,” 148.
- <sup>36</sup> Kimberling, “Emmy Noether,” 148; “18.04.1935, M. Lehr über E. Noether,” *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 47–48.
- <sup>37</sup> Cowett.
- <sup>38</sup> Bryn Mawr Special Collections; see also *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 34–39.
- <sup>39</sup> A few years later, Billikopf intervened on behalf of Noether’s nephews; see *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 69–73.
- <sup>40</sup> “21.02.1935, Manning an A. Flexner,” *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 82.
- <sup>41</sup> “28.02.1935, Veblen an A. Flexner,” *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 84–85.
- <sup>42</sup> Kimberling, “Emmy Noether and Her Influence,” 36–37.
- <sup>43</sup> Letter from M.D. James L. Richards addressed to President Park, dated April 24, 1935.
- <sup>44</sup> Bryn Mawr Special Collections.

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<sup>45</sup> According to the May 16, 1935 letter from President Park to Emmy Noether's brother, Fritz Noether.

<sup>46</sup> Bryn Mawr Special Collections; see also *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 50.

<sup>47</sup> Weyl's memorial address was published in *Scripta mathematica* III, 3 (1935) 201–220. Reprinted in Dick 112–152.

<sup>48</sup> Cavna; "04.05.1935, Nachruf auf E. Noether, von Einstein," *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 87–88.

<sup>49</sup> "08.04.1935, Gutachten Stauffer, von E. Noether," *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 43.

<sup>50</sup> Dick 85–86.

<sup>51</sup> Quinn, McKee, Lehr, and Taussky 143.

<sup>52</sup> Bryn Mawr Special Collections; see also *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 57–59.

<sup>53</sup> Bryn Mawr Special Collections; see also *Dokumente zu Emmy Noether*, 56.

<sup>54</sup> Parshall.

<sup>55</sup> Email communication on March 23, 2018. Dunham is a Research Associate in Mathematics at Bryn Mawr College; see also Dunham's discussion of these women mathematicians at the beginning of his article, "Bertrand Russel at Bryn Mawr."

<sup>56</sup> Letter to President John Nason of Swarthmore and President Felix Morley of Haverford on February 12, 1941.

<sup>57</sup> Boissoneault.

<sup>58</sup> Lane 65.

<sup>59</sup> Tent 146.

<sup>60</sup> Tent 56.